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Emergence of Rebellious Digital Press in Chile: Divergence, Engagement and Impact

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This paper examines the divergence and impact of Chilean news media and their uses of Facebook as a tool to deliver news and information and engagement with their audience. It also looks at the emergence of new digital media organizations during the last decade in Chile as a response to a concentrated duopoly market in the country. To do so, this paper considers notions of technological and cultural innovation in the newsroom and the concept of media convergence from a technological point of view to explain the current situation of media and journalists' habit us. Following Pavlik's idea that "journalism has always been shaped by technology" (2000, p. 229), this article discusses that both new and old media had been influenced by the current state of the technology, and today they have to standardize their practices in order to maintain a fluent communication between the audiences and the news industry. Therefore, this article supposes that the convergence of digital practices does not only affect journalism as a profession, but also present a challenge to transform the way journalism is practice and the way news worker do their jobs. A case study of Chilean media organizations is used to illustrate the change in the relationship between news and their public.

Keywords: Media convergence, social networks, journalism, technological innovation, social media

From the very beginning, news and technology have been intertwined. And as the technological advances are presented to the world, we rely more and more in digital news organizations. According to Mitchelstein and Boczkowski "online news media have become a key part of social, economic, and cultural life in many societies" (2009, p. 562). In fact, news is today, wherever we go. News is not prisoner anymore on the television or papers, but they are mix and scramble in our newsfeeds and timelines. Today, we found news even if we don't want to find them.

At the same time, we are witnessing an "increasing participation by the audience in editorial judgment about news" (Bezanson, 1998, p. 187). Symbolic culture performed in the Internet (Lindlof & Shatzer, 1998, p. 171) is the pool where journalists and editors must navigate to understand the new logics of consumption in their audience. The Internet has construct an infrastructure that lead us from the global village to a diversified global public sphere.

But because of this relation between news and technology, changes also happened within the newsroom and in the journalists' practices in general. Regarding social media, for example, Ekdale et al. said that, "the adoption of social media technologies such as

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Twitter changes news gathering and reporting, yet it also affects the relationship between journalist and their communities" (2015, p. 954).

Cottle (1999) also focuses on the impact of new technology in the journalistic practices within the context of news production. After studying the role of news technology in news production at the BCC's newscentre in Bristol, "he claims that digitalization, new communication technologies and technological convergence are factors contributing to a radical reconfiguration of broadcast newsrooms and changing professional practices" (Erdal, 2007, p. 53). This digital convergence has been defined as:

"A multidimensional process, facilitated by the widespread introduction of digital telecommunication technologies, affects the technological, business, professional and editorial field of the media, providing an integration of previously disintegrated tools, specificities, working methods and languages. Journalists make content that is distributed through multiple platforms, using the languages of each one" (García Avilés et al., 2008)

Thus, we reached a context of technological convergence where multimedia content has force to rethink the role of journalists in particular and media workers in general. In one hand, the work load for journalist has increase as much as has diversified. Journalists in today's newsrooms need to write and edit text, pictures, video and audio. On the other hand, news gathering and news delivering are using multiple channels and platforms. What is written, also need to be recorded and taped?

We Need News

What is news then? We talked about that on a daily basis, and yet, every time we reached a meaning, this one becomes more and more ephemeral. Because as simple as the question seems, the answer is rather complicated. For Schoemaker, for example, because news is a primitive construct it "requires no definition in ordinary conversation, because everyone knows what it is" (2006, p. 105). News is simply, she argues, what comes in the newspaper every morning. That definition has been followed by most authors in the specialized literature in communication and journalism, who systematically had avoided giving a clear characterization of what news is, assuming that the concept is understood in itself (Strömbäck, Karlsson & Hopmann, 2012). But news is much more than that. Some claim that news is a social construction of reality (Tuchman, 1980; Adoni & Mane, 1984; Gamson et al., 1992), while others state that news is actually an endless dance between the materialization of journalistic values, citizen journalism and the private and public sector trying to influence the agenda (Reich, 2006; Reich, 2008; van Hout & Jacobs, 2008, between others). If there is one thing that everyone can agree on is that news is relevant for the proper functioning of a democratic society and, today, a *need* in the lives of millions of people.

Therefore, in order to explain why people use the mass media, it is necessary to appeal to the classics terms of *needs* and *wants* in the traditional-psychological study of audiences. Reviewing the literature about this topic, Lull (2002) suggest that "the very term of need implies a state of deprivation such as hunger or thirst, or a requirement for essentials such as shelter, personal safety, and cognitive and social stability" (pp. 102-103). Indeed, the reason why people become an audience and want to consume news resides in the intrinsic hunger for knowledge and belonging of the human being as a

species. News media, a growing field in the past decades, provided exactly that. When asked to describe the structure of the media, Lasswell (1948), one of the four founding fathers of modern communication studies, identified three functions in it which are directly related to the concept of need.

The first one of these functions is the surveillance of the environment. Abandoning old ways to find out about natural disasters, declarations of war, imminent danger or other less urgent matters, newspapers, radio and television provide a great service keeping the audience informed in case of an emergency. Excluding some infamous cases like Orson Wells's *The War of the Worlds* broadcast radio in 1938, where the writer updated the homonym book and created a news bulletin describing a Martian invasion in the east coast of the United States causing people to flee from their homes and kill themselves, broadcasting news serves as a protection tool and as an alertness mechanism for the population. They tell us, in some way, what is going on in the world, either very far away, or at a walking distance. In summary, as Thomas E. Patterson, described it:

“Journalist is our chief sense-makers. Journalists are other things, too, but we need them mostly to help us understand the world of public affairs beyond our direct experience. That’s not to say that journalist bear the full burden of keeping us informed. If they are to be charged with that responsibility, they will fail. They cannot make up for glaring defects in the work of others, including our educators and political leaders. Yet, as journalist Walter Lippmann noted, democracy falters ‘if there is no steady supply of trustworthy and relevant news’” (2013, p. 3).

Then, the second function refers to the correlation of components of society, meaning that in the media people find themselves, recognize others and create communities. It is an issue about how society knows itself and how we look others. Without going into further detail on the theory of agenda setting and framing for now, this function presupposes that the topics present on the media are the ones people will discuss later in their houses or offices. Paraphrasing Lasswell, Tuchman argues that “news coordinates activities within a complex society by making otherwise inaccessible information available to all” (1980, p. 4). Indubitable, having common topics to talk or chat about, beyond the current weather, such as politics, sports and entertainment, produces a sense of belonging and inclusion that relieves, in some degree, the needs of avoiding social alienation and peer exclusion as mentioned before.

The last one, the function of cultural transmission between generations, describe the inter and intra-generational transmission of knowledge and cultural baggage. The media produces and reproduces cultural elements that are specific to a given society, and where some would call that a doctrine, they reinforce knowledge and practices over time allowing the opening of a dialogic space from one generation to another. Because at the end of the day, even in the times of the “global village” (or especially in this time), mass media remain a place of encounter, discussion and exchange of ideas.

Although anthropologists tend to dislike the simplicity in Lasswell’s categorization, we can not think about media otherwise than as a instrument of development. Bird argues that “in spite of the fact that almost everyone denies they are influence by the media (...), today most most of what people know about the world is mediated in one way or another” (2015, p. 5). As the biologist Michael Ghiselin (1989) said:

“We are better off if we have healthy neighbors, and it would be utter folly to monopolize the supply of medicine in order to be more healthy than they are. So too with knowledge. Our neighbor’s ignorance is as bad for us as his ill health, and may indeed be the cause of it. Industry and all the rest of us benefit from a supply of skilled labor. We rely upon others for their skill and expertise”. (p. 192)

Development, in a democratic community, has a lot to do with knowledge. The monopolization of this knowledge necessarily implies the inability to generate a deep debate on the needs and dangers that we face as a society. The very construction of the world in which we live in, is conditioned by the amount of information we handle on those issues that seem most relevant to us. The problem with the lack of media pluralism in a society is just that, which it configures and presents a world that is not in line with that of its citizens.

As Peters put it: “In the last 20 years, media assistance has become a significant element in the field of development, helping countries to make democratic transitions, spur economic growth, conduct public health campaigns, and improve government accountability. Efforts to spread a free press have resulted in professional support for tens of thousands of journalists and the founding of new media enterprises” (2010, p. 268).

Theoretical Framework

Habitus

There is a fundamental difference between news and newsworthiness. While the first one could be understood as the actual published stories, the second is a cognitive and mental judgment made by the journalist (Strömbäck, Karlsson & Hopmann, 2012). As Shoemaker put it, newsworthiness is “a cognition that can only marginally predict what actually becomes news” (2006, p. 110). And such cognition can only be explained in the frame of a (infra) structure. Because before journalists even consider pressing record on a tape recorder, they have to balance all the internal (gut feeling, gate keeping role, ethical thinking) and external (editorial guidelines, social relevance, consequences that could occur in the immediate context) tensions in play. For an event to become newsworthy and then to be considered for printing, there are a lot of rules that need to be checked. Here we find two very different approaches on how to study such tensions and practices; the Anglo-Saxon schools¹ and the critical sociology of Pierre Bourdieu, especially Bourdieu’s concept of habitus. This concept comes from understanding news production as a “complex process and journalistic routines as a social practice that implies apprehending the ways in which they dialogue and interrelate with external material factors” (Salinas & Stange, 2015, p. 123).

For Salinas and Stange, the introduction of the concept of habitus “breaks with the notion of a naturalized discursive practice [the journalistic one], socially legitimized and highly institutionalized and reiterative, capable of being described from its own logics related to the ways of organizing press rooms, but at the same time strained by the material, cultural and ideological factors external to the very process of production” (2015, p. 124). Instead, and unlike the work that had been done since the Anglo-Saxon schools, that assumes a natural and institutionalized form of production, the field need to be understood from a number of practices and material and symbolic relations which occur from the agents’ interactions, and are not naturally given.

Additionally, according to Salinas and Stange (2015), understanding the journalistic practice in terms of Bourdieu's habitus allow us to consider two new dimensions when looking into the problem. The first one relates to the concept of historicity of relations and practices within the field. Adopting a diachronic position when reviewing the routines means that the relationships and practices established in the past leave traces that somehow help to explain the logics that are established within a given field of production.

The second dimension is the idea of the forces "current state" within the field. For Salinas and Stange "such idea suggests that relationships are not stable, they are in constant transformation and adaptation, and therefore the social practices and actors involved in them are in the same way continuously reviewing their own situation within the field" (2015, p. 125).

According to Bourdieu himself, "the habitus is not only a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices, but also a structured structure: the principle of division into logical classes which organizes the perception of the social world is itself the product of internalization of the division into social classes" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 170 in Willig, 2012, p. 7).

Thus, for Willig the journalist habitus is the "specific way of playing the news game, the certain dispositions which the player (agent) has for positioning himself in the game, or, more simply, the embodied 'feel the game' (2012, p. 3). Therefore, what we are seeking to explain is also the specific laws of functioning within the journalistic field. As Willig notices, the concept of field is useful for ethnographers since it allows them to improve the concepts in the context. Moreover, as she argues, the different kinds of habitus (editorial versus reporter habitus; television versus newspaper habitus, and so on) can later help explain practices inside the newsroom that could seem confusing or contradictory for an external observer.

The contribution of Bourdieu's approach to the field is to end with the tradition of looking on a particular organization to explain the news values or journalistic practices in it. Instead, he proposes to recognize the newsroom studies as a professional field, which means that "theoretically we can assume that the newsroom is a hierarchical social space, a micro-cosmos reflecting a position in the journalistic field as well as a position in the field of cultural production, the field of power and in the overall social space" (Schultz, 2007, pp. 192-193).

How Technology is Changing the Newsrooms

Therefore, through Bourdieu's concept of habitus we can approach, more efficiently, towards a better explanation of the changes currently happening in the field. And this is critical for us because, according to Mitchelstein and Boczkowski, the changes produced by technology in news production practices are directly related to "shifts in the professional identity of journalists" (2009, p. 570). This is not of minor importance. Because of the entangle knotty-relation between news and technology, we expect that every time one changes, the other will follow. And then, what is news (the newsworthiness of an issue), might depend at the end of the day on how we learn about news, how we access that information, the behavior the spectators have to relate to a particular issue and how media mobilized them to address this problem. Therefore, we can only suppose that every time this happens, the journalistic practices undergo a radical modification.

And yet, here it is important to look at the recent ethnography field work in newsroom literature, because looking for the answer inside the newsroom means that first we have to comprehend every single one of the variables involved in the journalistic practice. In order

to understand what a journalist writes “it is necessary to understand his or her place in the journalistic field (...), the journalist’s specific competence in the writing technologies privileged in the field, the position of the within the sets of roles within the newspaper, and the history of the journalist’s prior relations with the social actors he or she is constituting as sources” (Peterson, 2001 in Van Hout & Jacobs, 2008, p. 67).

The classic ethnographic studies of news productions aim toward that same goal. Gay Tuchman’s *Making News: A study in the construction of reality* (1973) and Herbert J. Gan’s *Deciding What’s News* (1980) both took place in the same field; the newspaper newsroom, in order to explain how news was made. As Tuchman narrates: “I watched the process of assigning task, sat in on editorial discussions, covered stories with reporters, and follows stories through their eventual dissemination” (1973, p. 10).

But since then, and with the transformations produced by technological advances, newsrooms ethnographies have moved to more complex and specific topics. For example, Boczkowski studied the interplay between technology and local contingencies of three online newspapers. He concluded that “variations in organizational structures, work practices, and representations of users are related to different ways in which newsroom workers adopt these technologies” (2004, p. 198). In the same line, Chan et. al. studied how Chinese journalist use the internet for sourcing purposes. The result of this ethnographic research indicate that there is a tendency among journalist to “see (or perhaps wish for) online media as an alternative institution... government control of the internet undermines the potential of such online media to truly constitute an ‘alternative journalistic institution’” (2006, p. 941). Other ethnographic works, such as Quand, found that the move towards constant publication leads to “news agency dependent and ‘secondhand’ journalism” (2008, p. 89, in Mitchelstein & Boczkowski, 2009), because journalists lack more and more the time for research and original writing.

Therefore, the mutation in the ethnographic field confirms the constant movement happening in the newsroom, reveling a pressure to keep up, to update within the practices of the journalist. According to Ekdale et al. any “innovation that alters journalist’s norms and practices also can be understood as a change to professional culture” (2015, p. 954). This means that the change is not only happening in the practices and way of doing, but also in the central core of the profession.

The Chilean Case

To study Latin American’s newsrooms as a whole is to deny the multiple identities that coexist today in the subcontinent, and the historicity of relations and practices within each country and each newsroom. Even if one could find some linguistic or cultural similarities “neither a shared conceptualization nor a homologated operationalization of the profession exist in Latin America” (Mellado, 2009, p. 193), a mistake often made in cross country or international studies about journalists practice in the region.

According to Mellado (2009) the disparity between the state of the press in South America responds mainly to two factors, specifically, the influence and implantation of external economic models in the newsrooms across the region (largely from the United States and Europe), and secondly the unstable and interrupted democracy due to the emergence of different dictatorships that have deteriorated the state of free journalism in many countries. Therefore, as Ortega y Humanes (2000) put it, the history of journalism [in Latin America] and the structure of the society within which they produce and reproduce news are critical to craft a rational explanation of the current situation of the profession.

Chilean press and newsrooms are an interesting case study for two main reasons. First, unlike other countries, Chile (and Cuba, but for different reasons) resisted the intervention of external economic models at least until the 1980s when the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet (1973-1990) overthrew the government of Salvador Allende and implemented a free market capitalist system (Protzel, 2005). Second, despite the atmosphere of oppression and censorship due to the coups in charge, during the second half of the twentieth century the only countries where journalists could practice their profession with a relative degree of freedom were Chile and Uruguay (Buckman, 1996).

In contradiction to these positivist visions, Ramírez (1995) argues that the media in Chile have experienced an incomplete transition since the recovery of the democracy in the country (1990). According to Ramírez “after the military coup, written and radio media organizations were shut down and the audiovisual media were strictly controlled. Journalists disappeared or were executed, while others were forced to leave the country or renounce to the exercise of their profession in the political arena” (1995, p. 24). In the same way, Santa Cruz adds that “in the 80’s, journalists have been one of the unions that have resisted the action of the regime the most, perhaps it is the professional sector that most directly receives repressive harassment in their own daily work” (1998, pp. 149-150).

Once the military dictatorship was over, most of the left wing media were closed in order to promote a peaceful transition. It is important to remember that in the Chilean case, both Pinochet and many of his allies remained in political positions during the 90’s and the country experienced multiple situations in which the right wing parties threatened to retake the power and reestablish the dictatorial order. Therefore, it was a policy of left-wing parties to minimize criticism against Pinochet. This is known in Chilean history as “the politics of consensus” and is responsible for the decision taken by the Chilean Government to close, through different mechanisms, the majority of the media opposition. It was a crime in the name of peace, some will argue later. This is the reason why today the Chilean print press is mostly concentrated in an economic duopoly controlled by two large companies: *Copesa* and *El Mercurio S.A.*

A recent report by the National Council of Television (CNTV, 2015) established that this two economic groups concentrate more than 80 per cent of the readership and 83% of the advertising investment, at the same time they owned most of the regional print press (outside Santiago). The report concluded that “the main groups of the Chilean press [*Copesa* and *El Mercurio S.A.*] are part of diversified matrix business groups, where the media plays a political and economic role. These groups have managed to extend their dominance to the digital media market” (CNTV, 2015). If we add Metro, an international business model base on free distribution newspapers, the CR4 index (the first four main operators in each sector) goes up to 98 per cent of the market. This means that only three groups control almost the entire market of newspapers in Chile.

But, outside the newspapers market things don’t get better. According to the CNTV’s report, the CR4 index in radio reached 78 per cent of the audience and 84 per cent of the advertising investment. Something similar happens in television where the CR4 is 91 per cent. That means that only four media operators control what almost 17 million people watch every day in Chile.

Buffeted for this reality, and as a consequence, in terms of freedom of speech and press, Sapiezynska (2013) reports that 65 per cent of Chilean journalists claim that they feel restricted by internal agents (superiors or media owners). The numbers are even worst “in terms of restrictions imposed by the market and advertising, a dimension where 67 per cent of Chilean journalist perceive high levels of restriction, surpassing almost three times the result for democratic countries in general” (2013, pp. 24-23). Thus, while the

levels of restrictions perceived by journalists in democratic countries is 24 per cent, in Chile the number of journalists that reported feeling restricted reached 54 per cent.

In another study that measure occupational welfare, Mellado and Lagos report that the salaries of Chilean journalists are “low in relation to other media professionals and compared to other professions” (2013, p. 521) as well as pay satisfaction between media workers, even when Chilean journalists claimed that salary is one of the two aspects that they give more importance to in their work. Also, Mellado and Lagos demonstrate that the factors that have the greatest influence on the salary of Chilean journalists are “professional experience, level of hierarchy, region (where the media company is located), job satisfaction, working hours, the type of journalistic medium and having multiple jobs” (2013, p. 520). The results indicate a precariousness of working conditions in news media, due mainly to the deterioration in advertising investment and the modernization of the newsrooms that produces the gradual closure of departments and positions.

Mellado and Lagos (2013) specify that neither gender nor age nor level of education has a significant effect on the salary received by journalists. For Mellado and Lagos this means that “the current logic of the Chilean media does not seem to be conditioned by the personal characteristics of journalists, but rather by organizational or macro regional structural logics” (2013, p. 536).

Finally, in one of the biggest studies concerning journalistic practice in Chile, Salinas and Stange (2015) identified what they called an *active bureaucracy* inside Chilean newspapers. Describing the main trends in Chilean journalists’ professional practices between 1975 and 2005 in four newspapers of national circulation, Salinas and Stange conclude that the news making process in Chile is a mechanized and automated task that today responds strongly to the logic of media market. According to the authors “even those elements whose nature is intellectual and non-mechanical, such as deciding what is news and what is not, or evaluating the importance of one subject over another, become part of the routine with criteria already stipulated, and sustained, sometimes, in the experience of the journalists or in their common sense” (2015, p. 129).

For Salinas and Stange, Chilean journalists have given in to a state of total submission to the rules of production. They conclude that “if we understand, therefore, that information gathering is routine and that the evaluation of news is naturalized, the most appropriate image for understanding news production [in Chile] would be that of an active bureaucracy” (2015, p. 129), where journalists rarely reflect critical thinking on their jobs, naturalizing journalistic labor as an automatic doing and not as an analytical work.

Emergence of New Opportunities

Is in this context, one of limited opportunities, closed organizations, unsatisfied journalists and one where the influence of financial markets on communication conglomerates are more important than the sound of multiple voices, is where the development of a strong internet infrastructure has helped Chile to experience a diversification in news organization.

Since 2000 Chile has been subjected to the emergence of new digital media organizations. One of the first ones was *El Mostrador*. In their Code of Ethics, the founders of this digital newspaper established that “the news products of *El Mostrador* will be of independent and pluralistic content, and will account for the diversity of our society, and will foment the debate of ideas. And they will have as their highest goal the defense and perfection and deepening of our liberal and representative democracy”. Today, *El Mostrador*

has more than 1,28 million followers on Twitter, competing with the 1,74 million of *LaTercera* (a print paper by the *Copesa* group) and one of the oldest newspapers in the country.

But traditional print newspapers got there first. In 1997 and 1999, *La Tercera* and *Emol* (from *El Mercurio*), respectively, launched their digital sites. First it was a mere copy of the information already published in the print version, but it didn't take them too long to start creating special content for their online readers.

But since 2000, *El Mostrador* has been joined by other digital media such as *El Definido* and *El Dinamo*, all looking to diversify the offer of news that no too long ago was only in hands of a few. One of the most interesting examples is *Noesnalaferia.cl*, founded by three university students in 2010, started as a joke for a class final exam. But during the years they kept working, increasing and diversifying the content available. In 2014 they had an average of 150.000 visits to their site and in four years they had 30.000 followers in Facebook. Written as a blog, *Noesnalaferia* has defined itself as left-wing journalists: "We are journalists and we are left. [*Noesnalaferia*] is also a leftist medium and the themes are presented from that critical point of view. And with the particularity that is a medium representing proletarian class interests. We, when we make lists, analyze some cultural product, describe something of everyday life, we do everything from the perspective of representing class interests" (Contreras, 2014).

These four digital platforms are a good example to illustrate how leftist journalists have tried to reclaim lost ground following the transition to democracy and the policy that ended with most of the media opposition. However, it remains to be seen if they have been able to capture and engage with their audiences through, in this case, social networks.

Methodology

What is important to see here is if digital media and journalists succeeded to capitalize and engage with their audience in social networks. Based on the theoretical framework presented before, the article seeks to address one major research question:

RQ1: Is digital media succeeding in using social networks as a way to engage and impact in a virtual audience?

The research question is accompanied by these two hypotheses:

H₁: Digital media has a major presence in social networks and enjoys of a better relationship with a social network audience than other types of media.

H₂: Digital media has a higher engagement rate than traditional media.

Therefore, this study used the following method to test these hypotheses.

The current study used an online analysis of the Facebook pages of multiple news organizations in Chile. In accordance with this method, the different media organizations had been categorized in four different media types, namely; print press, digital press, radios, and television.

Table 1 presents the data gathered during the analysis that was carried out in January 10th, 2016. I used LikeAlyzer, which is a free online analysis tool, and therefore anyone could be able to replicate the results obtained in this research. As a sample, I have selected the four media organizations in their categories with more Facebook followers.

The analysis includes total number of likes (followers), people talking about this (PTAT), an engagement rate, as well as number of post per day. The engagement rate is calculated from number of likes divided by people talking about this. It is important to bear in mind that the results presented here behave rather like a photograph of a particular

moment, and do not take into account externalities such as breaking news, or long-term behavior in any case. However, they are useful for describing the state of impact in which the different types of media are found.

Table 1. Type of medium and description of the different variables.

| | Type of medium | Likes | PTAT | Eng. Rate (%) | Post per day |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------|
| Daily Newspaper | EMOL | 590,502 | 46,091 | 7,81 | 106,37 |
| | La Cuarta | 248,379 | 14,092 | 5,67 | 192,00 |
| | La Tercera | 1.141.720 | 597,894 | 52,37 | 230,40 |
| | LUN | 394,783 | 42,153 | 10,68 | 12,66 |
| Digital Press | El Definido | 171,136 | 8,576 | 5,01 | 8,23 |
| | El Dinamo | 225,504 | 56,099 | 24,88 | 45,18 |
| | El Mostrador | 423,822 | 94,895 | 22,39 | 132,98 |
| | Noesnalaferia | 265,531 | 134,173 | 50,53 | 7,20 |
| Radios | ADN Radio | 1.142.275 | 212,366 | 18,59 | 158,58 |
| | Bio Bio | 2.055.131 | 564,431 | 27,46 | 32,45 |
| | Cooperativa | 1.285.636 | 312,125 | 24,28 | 38,12 |
| | Teletrece Radio | 143,011 | 17,508 | 12,24 | 139,45 |
| TV | Canal 24H | 1.486.690 | 298,766 | 20,10 | 110,73 |
| | CNN Chile | 904,993 | 41,540 | 4,59 | 131,75 |
| | Ahora Noticias | 736,770 | 238,996 | 32,44 | 141,76 |
| | Teletrece | 3.176.795 | 746,816 | 56,21 | 379,50 |

The results presented in Table 1 show that television has the higher rate of followers on Facebook. *Teletrece* (the Facebook page for channel 13's news) leads the way with more than 3 million followers. It also the channel with the highest engagement rate. *CNN Chile* and *Canal 24H* are both close to 1 million followers and have engagement rates over 20%. Chilean radios also have a strong presence in the social network. *Bio-Bio*, *Cooperativa* and *ADN Radio Chile* have over one million followers and an engagement rate close to 20 per cent.

We see a different scenario in the Facebook pages of print daily press. Only *La Tercera* exceeds the million followers and has a strong engagement rate. But overall it is an exception. The most liked newspapers have rather a small number of followers and a poor engagement rate. This means, in other words, that their presence in Facebook is well ignored.

But, as a surprise, digital press is not doing very well either. *El Mostrador*, the oldest digital independent news site in the country is the only one that has more than 400,000 followers. *El Definido* behaves poorly with a low number of followers, number of people talking about it and a worrying engagement rate of only 5 per cent.

Noesnalaferia is an outlier in this category. Although has a soft 200,000 followers, their engagement rate rise to 51 per cent. It does publish few stories per day, but apparently those news and opinions have a hard core of followers that share and comment vividly to what is published.

Discussion

Although the habits of journalists has changed over the years and helped by the modernization of the newsrooms, it seems that the best-adapted are the radios and television stations in Chile. These have been able to cultivate and captivate the audience in their social networks. This may be due, one might hypothesize, in part to the kind of audiovisual material they share in their fan pages. The pages of the Chilean radios transmit live from their studios, not only in audio but also in video. The same happens with television channels, which broadcast their breaking news live and usually upload the most interesting videos after their broadcasts.

At the same time, radio and television have an advantage that the written press does not have: real-time interaction. It is not uncommon to see how television and radio read, comment and respond live to Facebook comments. An advantage over, which the print media can not do much.

To this we add that “news organizations tend to promote technologies only if they can increase the speed, efficiency, and attractiveness of news products. Poor news organizations may have a hard time adopting technologies, especially those that are capital-intensive” (Reich, 2013, p. 420).

To answer our research question, namely, if digital media is succeeding in using social networks as a way to engage and impact in a virtual audience, we only can, so far, answer no. Rejecting our first hypothesis, digital media doesn't have a mayor presence in social networks than other types of media (H_1). However, it is doing better than traditional print newspapers (H_2). Digital media has not only more followers, on average, but present also a more dialogic relationship with their followers.

The problem is, that we are not necessarily talking about the free, independent and pluralistic media. Those who score better in the engagement rates and number of followers are the same that already control the market in their categories and belong to the same corporations. *Las Últimas Noticias* (LUN) and *Emol*, belong to the same economic group, and the same happens with *La Tercera* and *La Cuarta*. Those who have the most followers, are also those who already control the market.

Conclusion

This article has discussed how traditional print newspapers, digital media, radio and television uses their Facebook pages. We do this because we expected that in a concentrated market like the one Chile, digital media would find an opportunity to use the Internet infrastructure to compete with traditional media organizations and then engage and impact their social network audience. We conclude that maybe the habitus of the journalist has changed over time and yet, what hasn't change is the context where this habitus develops.

We need news, as well as free, independent and pluralistic media. But the result of this investigation implies that the media with more engagement rate and impact in Chile is the same one that already controls most of the market. Some exceptions, such as *Noesnalaferia* can be found. But they do not represent the majority of the rebellious press that once existed in Chile and was closed the day the country chooses to make a pacific return to democracy through its “policy of consensus” and shut down most of the left-wing media in opposition.

However, the results presented in here are limited and further studies are needed to probe that the emergence of digital press in Chile is making a difference, if any, in the types

of news they offer. For example, content analysis is necessary in order to identify what kind of news are the journalist in digital media covering, that their peers in print newspapers are not. Other variables such as size of the media organization, infrastructure, number of journalists on the newsroom, and economic resources need to be taken into account. But if digital press media are making a change, is not starting in Facebook.

Note

¹It is not entirely fair that I reduce the work of anglo-saxon schools in just one sentence. Nevertheless, because I choose to focus on Bourdieu's critical views about this issues, I ask to the readers to grant me this exception.

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